

Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex

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informant said, "We hear that the soldiers on the coast know how to⁵⁸⁶ have intercourse while standing, but we don't understand such things." Inquiries about fellatio brought negative responses but precipitated the following folk tale about intercourse through the nostril.

"Long ago men on the Kebola peninsula did not know how to have⁵³⁹ intercourse with their wives. They did not know that women had⁸³¹ vaginas, so they had intercourse with their wives through the nostril. A man from here had become a slave and was sold to the Kebola people. The wife of his owner was pregnant from nasal intercourse, and the husband did not know how the child could be born. He said he would have to kill his wife, slit open her abdomen, and remove the child. So the slave said, "All right, I'll do it for you." He went up into the house, chased all the people away, and took the woman out into the privy, where she gave birth in normal fashion.

"The slave hid the mother in a large storage basket and gave her the child to care for. Then he went out and buried a banana stump in a grave on the edge of the dance place and sacrificed a chicken. The husband asked, "Have you finished burying the dead person?" And the slave answered, "Yes." He said the child was already there but that the father could not see it. After three months, when the child could laugh, the slave took the father up into the house where the mother and the child were. He said, "Now I shall show you how this is done." Then, while the father sat there, the slave had intercourse with the woman. Since then the Kebola people understand how to sleep with their wives, but there are still some who seek intercourse through the nostril."

Cunnilingus was a definitely shocking idea.* In connection with chil-⁸³³ dren, it was stated that kissing is not known in the area. However, mouth play involving biting is practiced. Informants report that wrestling and mock fighting is often a preliminary to the sexual act. Night is considered the proper time for intercourse. Encounters during the day and outdoors are considered risqué. Women accuse men sometimes of preferring the latter type of encounter.

Inquiries from various women concerning anal intercourse produced a rather shocked denial of its existence. Anal birth, however, was re-⁸⁴⁴ ferred to quite casually by a few older women but was unknown to some younger ones. The women who professed to know of such phe-

* Since there is a good deal of prudery about discussing these matters, this in-¹¹⁵ formation was secured largely from one person, Fantan the Interpreter, after our¹²⁴ relationship had been firmly enough established for me to be reasonably sure he would answer as honestly as he could. My command of the native language and opportunities for private conversations with women were not adequate for this sort of investigation.

Part 3

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Procedure and Presentation

THIS part consists of eight autobiographies, each of which is followed by Dr. Kardiner's analysis of it. The chart on the next page gives in condensed form certain information about the subjects. Preceding each autobiography is a genealogy. These lists do not pretend to be complete, but they do include the names of the kinsmen most frequently mentioned. They serve to give some idea of the size and nature of the kin group in which each subject grew up. A glance will reveal the difference between Fantan and Tilapada in wealth of close relatives. This is important among a people theoretically so dependent on kin loyalties for support and status. Duplications and variations in personal names may confuse the reader as much as they do the Alorese, but I have tried to overcome this obstacle as far as possible.*

The persons from whom autobiographies were secured do not represent the ideal or "type" person of Atimelang. The most successful men said they were too busy with their financial and ceremonial affairs to spend the time required for telling a life history. Actually they probably did not need either the fee or the prestige that working with me involved. The "ideal" women of Atimelang, of whom there were a few, were either too unassertive or too engrossed in work to come daily to my house. I am under the impression that inability to secure autobiographical material from the successful type individuals of a culture is an experience many ethnographers have had in functioning societies. However, the autobiographies given here do represent, on the whole, average Atimelang adults. Of the eight, Fantan, Malelaka, and Lomani are farthest from the norm.

No attempt was made to secure this material until I had been almost a year in the community and was able, therefore, to estimate the status of the informant in his own social milieu. I then selected people who were representative, articulate, and had good rapport with both the interpreter and myself. Autobiographical interviews were limited to one hour each morning before the informant began his day's work. It was understood that each session would begin with dreams of the preceding

* In the case of an older person the term of respect for age, i.e., *kalieta*, was suffixed to the first syllables of the given name. For example, Padafani as an older man might be known as Padakalieta. In addition, the given name might be contracted with the first syllables of the father's name. For example, Padafani whose father is called Manimai might also be referred to as Padamani.

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124 night. This procedure was facilitated by the local habit of remembering and discussing dreams. However, a drawback was that I seldom heard the first version. Informants were often asked to interpret their dreams, but this was of little value for individual psychology, since there is a partially standardized system of dream interpretation in the culture. An attempt to get associations with significant words in the dream met with no great success. Most significant, perhaps, are the memories or anecdotes related immediately after the dream.

It was necessary to ask questions and to do a good deal of directing in the interviews. The degree to which I interfered is indicated by the parenthetical inclusion of the content of my questions, or, where that is obvious from the responses, by the word *Question* in brackets. Leading, as opposed to clarifying, questions were asked only when the informant seemed to be at a loss to continue. This was particularly true toward the end of a series of interviews, when the informant had begun to run

SUBJECTS OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Name	Sex	Approximate Age	Number of Sessions	Sibling Position
Mangma the Genealogist	Male	45	15	Second of nine children
Rilpada the Seer	Male	35	18	Third of five children
Malelaka the Prophet	Male	45	20	First of six children and six half brothers and sisters
Fantan the Interpreter	Male	35	12+	Youngest of three children
Tilapada	Female	45	19	Fifth of nine children
Lomani	Female	35	12	Youngest of eight sisters; father died in her infancy
Kolangkalieta	Female	50	11	Second of five children
Kolmani the Seeress	Female	45	15	Youngest of two children; orphaned in infancy

124 down and had failed to mention certain obvious topics. A case in point is Tilapada's omission of material concerning her children. The insertion of ages where they occur is the result of inquiry rather than spontaneously given information. Usually the informant named a child and said, "When I was like So-and-so." I would then approximate the age. These estimates are naturally unreliable but they are probably better than nothing.

Another point of procedure should be mentioned. Although I did not feel sufficiently in command of the language to dispense with an interpreter, I was able to check his translations and particularly the sequence of thought.

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quence of thought. The subject was allowed to proceed as long as he chose, and when he paused the interpreter repeated what had been said, while I completed the written record. In the printed autobiographies the original order of narration has been kept. Except for the deletion of irrelevant and confusing place and personal names, the inclusion of a few parenthetical comments for purposes of clarification, and some minor changes in punctuation and the like, the records are in the form in which they were set down in Alor. Although they may sometimes be difficult to read in this fashion, they seem more valuable and genuine pictures of the personalities. The reader will find that, except in the case of Malelaka, the first day's interview comes very close to epitomizing the individual's attitudes and preoccupations.

The autobiographies are rich in ethnographic detail despite the fact that informants were kept rather persistently to their own experiences and reactions. In a few cases ethnographic descriptions of an impersonal nature have been omitted. Even so, the autobiographies serve better than any other device to bring alive and make specific the generalizations and speculations in Part 2.

*Chapter 10**Mangma the Genealogist*

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

November 24, 1938

[What was the first thing he could remember?] When I was still very small and couldn't yet talk clearly, I remember there was a hungry period. Mother and father went to the woods and took the roots of wild bananas and brought them home to eat. Mother was pounding them up in a mortar, and a little bit fell over the edge. I grabbed it up and ate it, saying, "This is my tuber [referring to an esteemed sort, grown locally]."

When I was still small I was sitting on a mortar. It was the time that corn was ripening. My mother did not cook me ripe corn but was preparing unripe cassava. I asked her for my ako. [Ako is baby talk for *batako*, a prized tuber.] Just then there was an earthquake. I fell off the mortar to the ground. Everything rocked and shook. Cracks opened in the earth. Our house fell down. A heavy beam dropped across the mor-

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kalukek. The people of Lawatika didn't pay. So Dikimpe and Karieta were angry and said they would complain to the government. Then Lawatika said, "We have young girls and you have young men who want wives. You pay the bride-prices for our girls and we shall be able to pay your kalukek." My father told me to ask some Lawatika girl if she wanted to marry me. He said I must not marry someone who didn't want to marry me. So I asked a girl and she was willing. Then my father said, "My son has two mokos." So the parents of the girl sent her to Kafukhieni [informant's residence] carrying a pig. In six days I beat my two mokos and gave them to the girl's father and mother. Then my father went to Lawatika and asked for the return of two mokos to pay the kalukek. But I said, "No, keep the Kolmale moko and give the Hawataka moko back." So they gave back the Hawataka and two broken gonga. Two Kolmale were still due on the kalukek, one to Maima and one to Manglan.

[What of the other woman, whose father had given a basket of rice?] Oh, I hadn't yet spoken to her. My wife's father gave me one Piki moko and two broken gonga as a dowry. I paid a Maningmauk moko as my bride-price. Senmani gave me a Tamamia moko as a dowry; I returned a Maningmauk. Lanmani gave me a two-and-a-half-rupiah pig as a dowry; I gave him the Tamamia. Maima gave me a broken gong worth three rupiahs as a dowry; I gave him a piece of a Fehawa worth six rupiahs. Atama gave me five small corn bundles, a basket of beans, and a small goat as a dowry; I gave him a Maningmauk. This was the third Maningmauk I had paid in my bride-price. [I tried without success to divert him from the discussion of mokos and bride-prices. He was obviously thoroughly enjoying the account.] Lanmani gave me a small pig as a dowry; I gave a Tawantama as a bride-price. Senfani gave a Tamamia pig, and I returned a Maningmauk. [This is probably the transaction attributed above to Senmani. Note the inconsistency in an apparently meticulous account.]

[Unable to stop this flow of reckoning, I called the allotted hour to an end. Mangma smiled and said that he had reckoned his bride-price and that he also planned to tell about his familiar spirits. He was obviously very pleased with the morning's account.]

November 28, 1938

When I was young I blackened my teeth. They were blackening teeth in three localities that year. My place was near Ruataug, where there were twelve boys and girls. At Manitu there were thirty. Manitu

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x¹⁵⁹ young corn [*mutingata-ateats*], sugar cane, mangoes, or cucumbers.
 262 This taboo lasts for three months, and in the fourth month I eat them again. Before eating them I feed my kuya hearth and place on it leaves of all these foods. After that I may eat. My father and older brother died about eighteen years ago, and ever since then I have kept this taboo. The kuya hearth is so called because I keep these food taboos
 x¹⁵⁸ before the Kuya feast. In this feast fire is thrown at a tree, and good
 241 crops for the coming year are requested. The kuya are spirits of all
 [776] kinds of foods. They come from Piningkai [literally, "field head" or "top of the world," to the southeast in Batulolong]. These spirits stay in the sky. Mine are Kuyawa, Takatahafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, and Karilak-Kamaro. When I feed the kuya hearth I say, "Kuyawa, Takatahafiki-Nalongtaiy, Tingtina-Fanfana, Karilak-Kamaro, now let
 [782] me eat my corn, cucumbers, squash, and mangoes and not be sick. May
 [539] my thighs and my shoulders be strong. May I go running over large level places and long slopes and go straight through without stopping until sweat comes." [The rainy season is considered the season of illness. This sacrifice and supplication is made at the end of the rainy season so that the soreness and stiffness may pass.]

x¹⁵⁹ [At this point I tried to get him away from ethnography into personal anecdotes.] When I was still a child, a friend of mine, also called Mangma, asked me to come to his garden and help him build a house. When it was finished I asked him to come to the house I had built in my garden and roast corn. My house was made of slender bamboo. The thatched roof had collapsed, but we hunted rats, roasted corn, and ate there anyhow. At the new corn feast my friend Mangma invited me to come to fetch corn from his garden. The next day his mother cooked it for us. Then we went to my house to eat rats and corn. We said, "Now we can't play for a while, but when the corn work is finished, when it has been gathered and tied into bundles, we can play again." [Question.] This friend is dead now; he died after he married. When we grew up and married we didn't play together any more. We were no longer friends [in the sense of companions]. This friend, Mangma, was also from Karieta.

[How his mother died?] My mother's body swelled up and she died. That was about seventeen years ago. It was the year after my father and brother both died. They all died because we didn't give our Bayorka feast [part of the Tils death feast for ancestors] rapidly enough. We built the altar and didn't feed it. Then the village of Karieta burned down. We built another bayorka altar but didn't feed it. Then these three people died. I was married at the time.

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second, the presence of the interpreter. As we have seen, Mangma is an extremely insecure, sensitive, and easily hurt person, who has deep unconscious cravings to be loved, together with a conviction that these desires will not be fulfilled. It is not unlikely that such an attitude dominates his relationship to the ethnographer, whom he undoubtedly regards as a very rich and powerful individual. The presence of the interpreter is a factor that undoubtedly distorts Mangma's story. Mangma will not tell anything about himself that will be disparaging either to his manhood or to his general standing. His account is therefore a rather stultified and unspontaneous affair until after he has got somewhat better accustomed to the situation. He eases up in his account toward the end.

That he was eager to make a good impression on the ethnographer and sought to express his affection for her is well illustrated by a dream that he narrates toward the end of his story (December 16), in which he is stealing a squash from the enclosed garden of his grandmother. It so happens that the ethnographer was the only person in the whole community who had an enclosed garden. The dream of stealing from her is therefore his characteristic way of expressing the wish to be fed by her, and also the conviction that this will not happen; hence the stealing.

Because of these two factors, Mangma's story is full of great gaps, and, judging from the general makeup of the man, we may assume that what he tells is actually the least objectionable part of his life story. The material of his biography takes us up to approximately eighteen years before the narration. The story he tells deals almost entirely with his past; nothing pertaining to his current life is mentioned in any way. We can therefore guess that his representation of himself is something of a bluff to hide his inadequacies, of which he is, in his inarticulate way, quite well aware.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies in the narrative, Mangma's life history is of great value. It is difficult to decide how typical Mangma is. I would venture to say that if he were typical the society could not continue to exist. We are dealing, therefore, with an extreme type of character formation under the influence of certain institutional situations. The façade of this character is misleading, for he is a person in good standing and is considered a strong, active man, and yet he does not participate much in the society. The reasons for this are all too clear. One of his claims to distinction is that he is a genealogist, but his recitations of genealogies were rapid and obscure. Careful checking by the ethnographer revealed that he was frequently inconsistent and in-

Chapter 12

Malelaka the Prophet

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X 159 Malelaka's claim to fame rested on his supernatural relationships to
 77 Good Beings. In 1929 he had predicted the imminent arrival of these
 Beings, whose presence in the village would put an end to death and ill-
 ness. The people were very much excited by his prophecies and were
 willing to build special houses in which to lodge the supernatural guests.
 The government was suspicious of these activities and sent troops to
 demolish the houses and arrest Malelaka.

Y 154 At the time that Malelaka gave his autobiography he was once more
 124 cautiously predicting the arrival of Good Beings, but the people were
 far more skeptical this time. In the first hour I made no mention of these
 activities, but instead stressed his life history and early memories, saying
 that I did not want descriptions of ceremonies and other comparable
 ethnographic data.

He launched into a long imaginary conversation he had had recently
 with "my friend, the Good Being."

April 30, 1939

X 159 When I was still small, perhaps twelve or thirteen, the sun spoke to
 me, saying, "I come now to tell you that you won't get sick. You may
 have boils and wounds, but other sicknesses will not afflict you. The
 first time you have a child I shall come and speak to you and you must
 make a house." When the people heard these words, they said, "We
 must make a house," but I said, "No, we should wait till they [the
 Good Beings] come down from above." They said, "No, we must make
 the house first." [With utter disregard for the time element he was now
 off on his Good Being exploit of 1929.] Then Mobikaliers's familiar
 spirit said I should use a bow and arrows. When the five Good Beings
 came, they saw the bows and arrows in the house we had built for
 them. They were afraid and went away again. I was asleep and woke up
 to see that the Good Beings' mountain was hanging in mid-air. They
 held up their hands with their five fingers spread. This meant they
 would return in five years.

When I got out of jail, I waited two years, and in the third year I
 made a house again. [This was about August 1938.] Seven days ago
 I heard them tell me that in one month they would come, and that

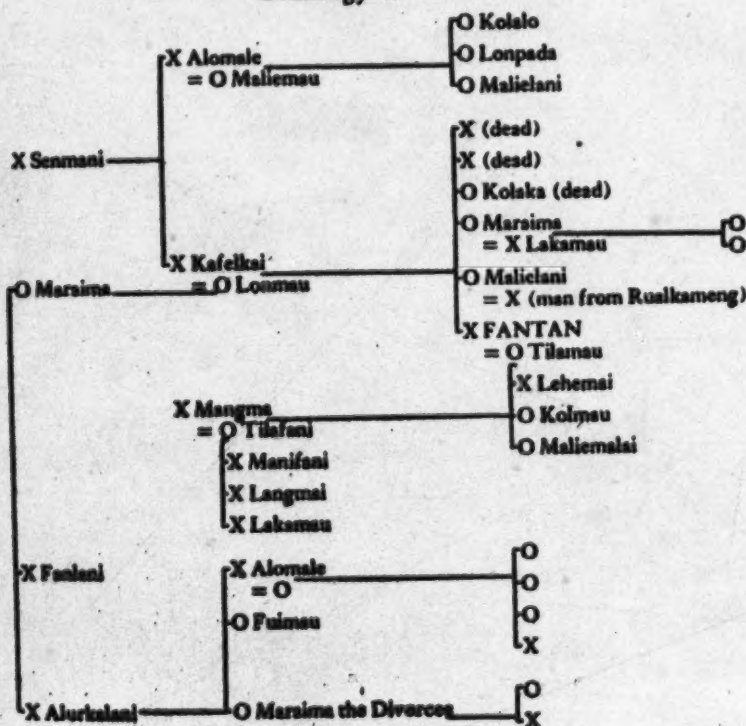
Chapter 13

Fantan the Interpreter

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The beginning of this autobiography was collected in the usual manner. It was the first of the eight secured, and I suggested that Fantan tell me his life story so that he could understand the kind of information I hoped to get. The last part is a combination of Fantan's own casual accounts of his daily affairs and my observations on the difficulties he encountered. This latter part is written in the third person instead of the first and consists partly of casual jottings on Fantan's behavior and attitudes made in connection with other topics.

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[He wanted to begin with other data I had asked him to collect. When I asked him to begin with his own story there was a very long pause. I felt much resistance this day. Was he punishing me for not accepting his bid of the preceding day for food and nurture?]

When I was small an old man from Kewai, called Maugfani, came to stay with us. He was my father's Male House. He used to sit by the fire and doze. He would fall over and then wake up and say, "Na lakiell."

[522] [Indeed, I was dreaming." In local dialect this would be *na la piell*.
[197] Such dialectic variations were always cause for much laughter and ridicule.) He was very old and all the time he was there my mother fed him pounded corn. [Question.] He stayed several months and then returned. [Question.] I liked him because I was still small. I called him grandfather.

One time Alomale, Fanlani, Maraima, and Kolfani [all siblings or cousins] were staying with mother and father. I was still small. Alomale and Fanlani went to hunt rats near the Limbur ravine. A rat went down a very steep slope. Alomale followed it and rolled down the slope. He was dead. People carried him to Mainmelang. Many women cried for him. But when he got back to Mainmelang he came to life again.

Fanlani's wife was Tilamau. I was still so small I couldn't talk clearly. Tilamau fondled me and took me to a dance. She danced holding me in her scarf. [Question.] I myself remember this [i.e., it was not hearsay].

When Fanlani died Tilamau wanted Alomale, but Alomale stole three small ears of corn from Lakamobi's garden. Lakamobi took Tilamau as wife to pay the debt, just for three small ears of corn. Now Lakamobi doesn't pay Tilamau's bride-price. He just took her. [Inaccurate.]

[523] One time father, I, and Kolaka's husband, Mailang of Hatoberka, were all at Hatoberka. The three of us went down into the ravine to get crabs. A young spirit bird flew up. Mailang shot and missed. He shot all his arrows. Then father gave him his bird arrow and he hit the bird. When we got back to Hatoberka, Ataboi bought the spirit bird and cooked and pounded corn. We ate. Father got a Vifal moko as the second seller of the bird.

Once we were near Fiyaipe cutting a garden. Three men were sharing the work and the crop. At burning time we went down to the river to hunt for crayfish and eels near the place called Talmang. We drained a pool and got an eel about the size of my wrist. Then we saw another as big as my calf. Fanlaka shot it and jumped into the water after it. We

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married a year when my wife became pregnant. At the end of the second year she gave birth.

[Question.] At the end of the first separation it was I who made a litigation to get back my bride-price. Her parents said I hadn't come to one of their feasts to help them. I wanted to get my bride-price back, but the chiefs — I mean my wife — said I was her husband. [Here I felt that he had started to say that the chiefs heard the litigation and didn't approve the divorce, but he corrected himself and stressed the point that his wife was deeply attached to him.] So Malikalieta, a relative, paid a free gift [*pungbe*] for me, and my wife returned to live with me. [This free gift was what he was expected to contribute to his parents-in-law's feast.]

[Question.] My wife is pregnant now; she has been for four months, and in another six months she will give birth. [Shortly after his wife's pregnancy began he built his own house and stopped living in his sister's. He had said nothing to me previously about his wife's pregnancy. I asked, "Are you glad?"] Yes. [He smiled in a pleased fashion.] A child is like having wealth. When we get a child it is like getting the bride-price back. A girl brings luck too. When she grows up she brings us a bride-price. A boy when he grows up and is big makes our death feasts. [Which do you want more?] It is just the same whether it is a boy or a girl.

November 19, 1938

[Yesterday I told Fantan that for one month I could use him only 1/5 half time. He was very angry and unwilling. Finally, at his suggestion, 124 I agreed to give him more than half pay for half time. He said that then people wouldn't think I was dissatisfied with him. This morning he started in much more willingly than yesterday.]

Last night I dreamed. My soul went to the market at Aiyakanliking 159^x to barter. The women of the Five Villages had gone on first. When I got to the market there was no one there. The women had finished their trading and were down below the market place. Malielani, Maraima [his two older sisters], and Lakamau [Maraima's husband] were there. Lakamau was angry with Malielani. I and Lakamau fought, exchanging blows. I told him to go back to his own village. "Your wife is my sister, but I have given you a lot for her. It is better that you don't stay with us." I was helping Malielani. Malielani is from a distant village, and when she comes here she must stay with us. Then we returned to the house. I woke up and told my wife. I think this is a true dream, but I think I shall hit Lakamau only if I go to Aiyakanliking.

Tilapada

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Sahiek [the village of the dead]; that is why they did not offer me food.)^{59x}
If I had eaten there, I probably would have died. [Meaning of the⁷⁸⁷
descent into the house?] When I get wounds I'll be dizzy and uncon-
scious; my soul will want to get up to heaven from Sahiek, but people
will call me back and I shan't die. [No ladder?] This house is probably
one of those in which people who died a violent death stay. They have
probably had their heads or their spirit birds paid for; so they are shut-
ting themselves in and are not wandering any more. [That is, special⁷⁶⁹
ceremonies have been given to placate their souls, and they are no⁷⁷⁵
longer malignant ghosts.]

[At this point I tried to get away from the conventional dream in-¹²⁴
terpretation by using word associations. The informant did not seem¹¹⁴
to grasp the idea and insisted on long repetitions of the dream. The
associations were as follows: *ladder*—top of waterfall, the place where
a slain person is taken to be decapitated before head feasts are given;
mango tree—person who has met violent death, or death from a par-
ticularly dreaded disease like smallpox; *empty house*—same as ladder;
closed door—the dead man's door; *areca nut*—a wound; *betel*—a
wound; *rat*—came down from the sky, referring to the fact that shoot-
ing stars are thought to turn into mice when they strike the earth.]

I dreamed again. I and Kolang cut bark for loincloths. We pounded^{150x}
it but could not make it soft, so we threw it away. I went for more. I
saw Fuimai cutting down another tree for bark cloth. When I asked
her for some, she said there was not much; there was only that one tree.
But in her hands she had many pieces. Fuimai took the bark off the tree
and put it in her basket. I woke up.

[Meaning?] Had I not thrown the bark away, the dream would⁷⁸⁷
mean that I would commit adultery. Fuimai did not throw away the
bark; so that means she will commit adultery. [Fuimai was suspected in
the village of sleeping with her young unmarried brother-in-law. Her
husband was rarely at home.]

When I was small, my father cleared a big garden. Father carried¹⁹²
me between his body and the arrows thrust into his belt. He took me
thus to the garden feast. That evening when we came back he carried
me in the same way. I cried when father left, but he said, "You stay
here in the village; it is wartime." However, I continued to cry, so he
carried me in this way. Mother too told me to stay home, but I just
cried. That evening when we returned to the house, we ate the meat
and rice baskets of the feast. The next day we all went to plant Mai-
lang's rice field. I cried again and followed mother and father, so my

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 124 In this autobiography the subject never reveals herself. Her attitude toward the ethnographer is shown in her dream after the first interview. The ethnographer is about to return home — but Lomani qualifies the fact by saying "only for two months." This is her masked way of saying that she finds the interviews disagreeable and wants the ethnographer to go away. In two months her interviews will have been finished. This is conveyed, however, under the guise of flattery about how much she, the ethnographer, will be missed. In other words Lomani finds the situation distasteful but acquiesces in it limply, flatters the ethnographer but conceals her real affect. The narrative that follows bears out only too well that the situation was difficult for her. She is rarely spontaneous. She must be urged and prompted.

x 159 This is not a matter apart from her personality; it is in fact very consistent with her character, in so far as we are able to make it out at all. The situation is too much for her because it is a call to tell about herself. She has a low opinion of herself. This would not of itself deter her, but she has difficulty in acknowledging any kind of feeling, be it hostile or friendly. The blocking is complete, so that she has only a limited range of indifferent subjects about which she can talk. She deprives every statement of its affective coloring.

Perhaps the chief reason for Lomani's blocking in her human relations is that she cannot mobilize any aggression. The reminiscence of childhood quarrels disturbs her, and when she is questioned about them she shunts the conversation to play activities. This is, of course, a contemporary picture. As a child Lomani was capable of becoming angry enough to tear off another child's loincloth. In Alor this was extreme behavior. That the avoidance of hostility was a repressive process is clearly indicated by the fact that in her recent life she complains of no one.

The dominant trait is therefore an all-pervading anxiety about everything. Lomani evidently has never succeeded in establishing a center of gravity about which her personality could be organized. Her refusal to make judgments about anything or anyone is not merely a repression of hostility; it is rather a lack of emotional orientation. Her anxiety is diffuse and clouds even her thought processes.

In certain situations, however, she is capable of affectivity. This is usually associated with receiving gifts. The description of her relationship with her child also shows a good deal of feeling. This may well be on the basis of an identification with her young daughter, of whom she

Chapter 16

Kolangkalieta

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

March 25, 1939

When I was about twelve or fourteen, my mother and father gave 159^x a large death feast [Ato] for my grandparents.

I played with Tunmai, Fuimai, Kolmani, and Maraluka [all girls]. Once Tunmai said her beans were more than mine in the bean game, so I fought with her.

I also fought with Kolmakani over a bean game, because I won more than she. She started to fight with me and I got angry and said, "It looks as though you were brave." We started to exchange blows. My mother came and said, "You must not fight," and grabbed me so we stopped. I was the older.

[These data were all in response to questions. Kolangkalieta was having difficulty in starting and in giving details. The fact that she began with quarrels is not to be overweighted. They were one of the things mentioned and were perhaps overstressed by the interpreter in [124] describing the sort of data wanted.]

I and my older sister, Maramani, went to pick kanari nuts. We gathered many and then wanted to pound them up. Maramani said I should help her pound hers first. I said, "No, I'll pound mine and you pound yours. You are my elder sister; I am the younger; but each will pound her own." So she began to fight. She hit my forehead with her hand so hard that I was almost wounded. My forehead was swollen. I went home and told father. He struck Maramani. We weren't real sisters. Our fathers were brothers. The two fathers were angry with Maramani and hit her, saying, "You are two sisters. How does it happen that you fight?"

When I was about twelve or fourteen, I fought with Kolpada. Our two fields had a common boundary. Kolpada in cutting weeds didn't follow her boundary carefully. She went over the boundary into my garden. I was angry and said, "This isn't the boundary. You have come over into my field. Go away. You can't work here." She said, "You go away." I was angry and we fought. Kolpada told her mother and father, and they said, "You fought first." They hit her for fighting.

Once Manilang and Mailang [two younger brothers] fought. Mani-

Chapter 17

Kolmani the Seeress

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

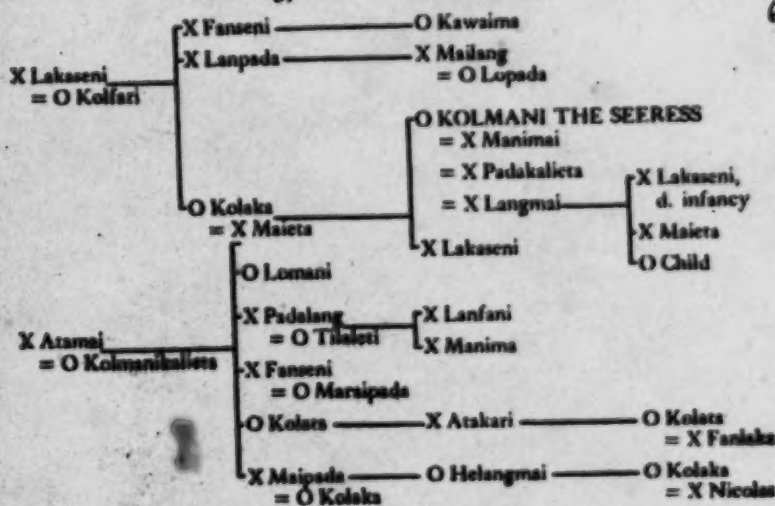
The informant talked freely and herself suggested that she give her autobiography. She spoke in briefer paragraphs than the others and stopped to see that her words were written down. After the first day these pauses are indicated with the word *Stop* in brackets.

April 12, 1939

Father I never knew. He died when I could just crawl. After that mother died when I was only two. Grandmother took care of me. I stayed there a long time and then went to live with various mothers [classificatory]. One mother had a child, Maleta, for whom I cared; then she became pregnant and had another child, Langfani. I took care of that child too. Then I had a bad case of yaws. I was staying with my mother and taking care of Maleta when the village burned down. Later mother cut a garden for me. She sold the proceeds for two pieces of cloth, but she didn't give them to me. When I was staying with her, my middle mother [the middle sister in her mother's family] asked me

Genealogy of Kolmani the Seeress

[115
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Chapter 30

Word Associations

125 AFTER a year in Atimelang I compiled a list of one hundred words in Abui, selecting those words which seemed to me to be charged with emotional connotations in daily life or those which occurred frequently in dreams and autobiographies. These were interspersed with words which are often strongly colored in our own society, for example sexual and excretory terms. Lastly, words were interspersed which seemed in both societies to have a neutral emotional tone, for example landscape terms. This list, needless to say, was selected partly on the basis of impressions. The stimulus words are given on page 564.

124 The test was given to 17 men and 19 women. Each subject was given the same instructions. The following is a literal translation of the Abui in which they were given:

"I shall speak once; you speak once. Follow what rises within you; do not think, only speak. If what you speak is not good, that does not matter. I also shall speak what is not good. Do not answer with the names of people; do not answer with Malay words. For example, I may say *black*, you may answer *white*; or, I may say *far* and you may answer *foreign*; or, I may say *good* and you may answer *bad*, or *tasty*, or *my sibling*, or *Ikira woko*. There are one hundred words; after fifty we shall stop to catch our breaths. Have you understood?"

x 157 Of the total responses (1700) by men 96.5 per cent (1640) were
125 usable. Of the total responses (1900) by women 96.5 per cent (1831) were usable. By usable is meant that there were no language misunderstandings, either on my part or on the part of the informant, and that there were no perseverations. There were no neologisms and only one instance of playing with sound associations. In this case the stimulus word *sidi sbiel* (*koli*) produced the response *you lie* (*okoli*). There were, however, at least 3 subjects whose responses were more or less stereotyped; that is, they responded with a color, like *black*, which was contained in the instructions, or with a number or a possessive prefix when they were in difficulties. The significant point in this comparison between the percentages of usable responses from men and women is that they are identical. This might suggest that both sexes have equal language facility.

In comparing responses words were grouped into categories. For example, to the stimulus word *path* the following response categories were inherent in the material: government trail; go, wander, follow;

Children's Drawings

567

Regarding the drawings collected from children the following figures summarize briefly the material available.

	Boys	Girls
Number of children.....	33	18
Approximate age range.....	6-16	6-16
Number of performances.....	60	33
Number of different objects portrayed.....	74	60
Range of number of objects portrayed per 30-minute session.....	3-16	7-16
Average number of objects drawn per session by one subject.....	11.4	14.8

Children were given pencil and paper, materials which they had never handled, and were asked to draw whatever they wished. An arbitrary time-span of thirty minutes was set. Parenthetically it should be noted that drawings done with pencil on smooth paper will differ from those done with crayon, ink, or paint. Any cross-cultural comparisons must take into account the mediums used by the children.

The first obvious step is an analysis of the subject matter which preoccupies children.

ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTS PORTRAYED BY BOYS AND GIRLS

157

Subject	Boys	Girls	Subject	Boys	Girls
Plants			Animals		
palm	39	11	snake	16	6
tree	31	30	hawk	18	0
fern	47	77	chicken	17	6
flower	39	30	lion	14	1
reed	13	11	bird	10	0
tuber	4	17	fish	8	3
fruit	4	0	fishbone	0	7
cactus plant	4	9	dog	3	0
weed	3	3	duck	4	1
squash	3	0	horse	3	0
squash plant	0	1	cat	3	0
bean	1	0	goat	3	0
tobacco plant	1	0	pig	3	1
cocunut plant	1	0	walking stick (insect)	1	0
cocunut leaf	0	1	fly	1	1
leaf	1	3	chickadee	1	0
grass	0	1	butterfly	1	0
eggplant	0	1	dragonfly	1	0
banana leaf	0	1	dog	1	0
branch	0	1	rat	1	1
			insect	1	0
			frog	1	0
	334	303		103	19

Chapter 22

Rorschach's Experiment and the Alorese

BY EMIL OBERHOLZER *

000 The following summary covers: (1) procedure, (2) quantitative results of the test findings, (3) interpretation of affectivity, (4) variability and the individual, (5) sex differences.

PROCEDURE

114 The test was given by the ethnographer to thirty-seven Alorese, 124 seventeen males and twenty females. The scoring of the records and 125 their computations, their interpretations and the evaluation of the findings, were made subsequently by me in New York.

I hesitated to undertake this task for more than one reason. Not only was I confronted for the first time with the tests of individuals other than Europeans and Americans, but I did not know the norms of these people and had no way of working them out. I did not know the average of the numerical values for the various experimental factors. They must be widely different from ours, since there are even striking differences between the findings in the population groups of various sections of Switzerland. These differences are evident both in the experimental findings and in the psychology of these population groups as well as in the clinical pictures of mental disorders, notably schizophrenia. This is a point which Rorschach set forth in his *Psychodiagnostics* (1921).†

Among the Alorese, I do not know, for example, what is an original and what is a popular answer; I do not know the border line between a normal and a small detail, since I do not know with certainty what constitutes with them normal and small details. I even have no reliable basis for qualifying a form. I do not know with certainty what form answer is to be scored as good or bad. In working out the norms it may turn out that a form answer which I consider poor according to my experience with Europeans, is good in the Alorese, and vice versa. Or, to put it briefly, I lack the statistical basis that underlies our scoring of European material.

* I am deeply indebted to Margaret Wing of New York, who gave so lavishly of her time and linguistic acumen to this chapter.

† See English translation, pp. 96-97, 107, and 112, published by Hans Huber, Bern, Switzerland, 1921; distributed in the U.S.A. by Grune & Strassman, Inc., New York.